UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
In Cooperation with the
Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station

KANSAS RURAL COMMUNITIES
A Study of Nemaha County

Amarillo, Texas
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This report has involved the cooperation of many different individuals. Most of the field work was done under the direction of Douglas Ensminger of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, assisted by T. Wilson Longmore, Milton Rossoff and T. G. Standing of the same Bureau and by Merton Otto of the Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station. The final report was prepared by the same individuals and edited by T. G. Standing in consultation with Douglas Ensminger and Roger Stewart of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Randall C. Hill of Kansas State College.

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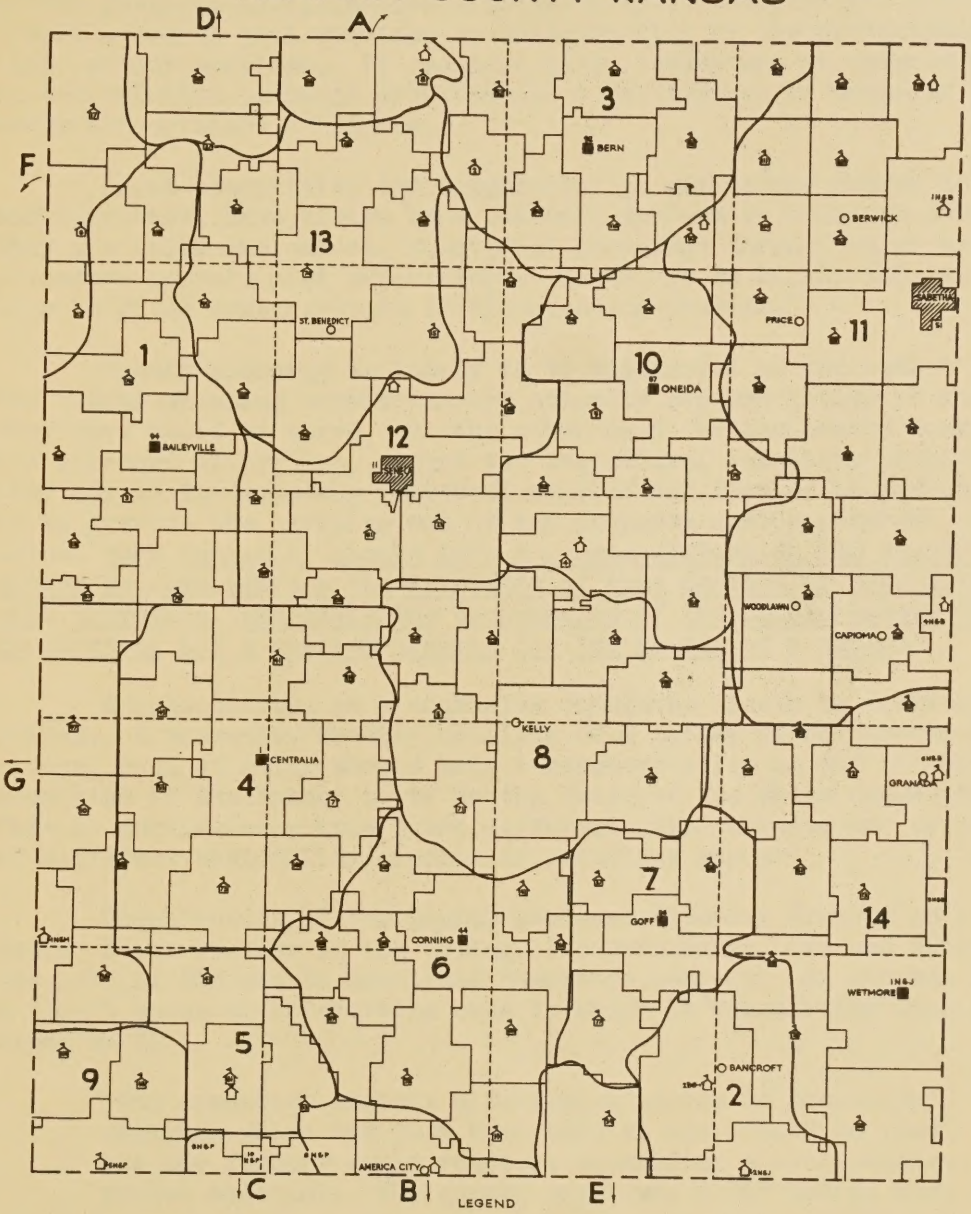
NEMAHA COUNTY KANSAS



LEGEND

- County line.
- Common school district line.
- Township lines.
- Community line.
- School house and district number (Open Country)
- Church (Open Country)
- Community hall (Open Country)
- 1-14 Community centers in county.
- A-G Community centers out of county.
- City with population 2000-2500
- Town with population 100-750
- Village under 100 population.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 38391 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

THE IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN LAND-USE PLANNING 1/

The land-use planning program depends for its success upon the widest possible participation of local people. Cooperative action toward a common goal requires an understanding by the participants of their common problems. It requires, also, assumption of responsibility in the solution of these problems and a willingness to consider the needs and opinions of others.

Local communities and neighborhoods, with their common interests and loyalties, have always been dominant factors in American democracy. They are still the natural functional groupings through which democratic processes operate most effectively. Hence, it is highly important that they be given consideration in the planning program.

County planning is likely to be successful to the extent that the county planning committees are actually representative of the areas they were meant to serve. On the other hand, if the county committees are selected without any regard for the natural community groupings, they may so inadequately represent many of the farmers in the county as to prevent the carrying out of any proposed action program. In other words, each community should have a representative on the county committee who can express the interests of that particular community and who, therefore, can claim the cooperation of the people living in it in carrying out a unified program for the county as a whole.

Representation on a community committee should be similarly guided. A community usually consists of a number of neighborhood groups, each of which should have a representative on the community committee if the latter is to be the voice of the whole community. This is particularly true where different neighborhoods are composed of different nationality, racial or religious groups.

Organization of the County Land-use Planning Program on a community basis results in the saving of considerable time and effort on the part of the county agent and committee members. An extract from a report shows an interesting case in which 26 "communities" were reduced to 7.

> "The committee members discussed a series of community meetings which had just been held in the county to find out how farmers would react to organizing a soil conservation district. The county agent was a bit weary, for,

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1/ It is desired here to express appreciation for the cooperation and helpfulness of the Nemaha County Committee and the County Agricultural Agent in the carrying out of this study. The County Committee is to be congratulated on the progressive planning being made in Nemaha County, Kansas.

COMMUNITIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

The concepts of communities and neighborhoods which were utilized in the mapping of Nemaha County were approximately as follows:

(1) Neighborhoods. -- These are the smaller of the two natural social groupings. People who are neighbors feel and display in their behavior a sense of belonging to the local area and group. The residents of a neighborhood know each other intimately. Among the factors contributing to neighborhood loyalty might be attendance at the same churches, club meetings and public meetings, the use of common schools by the children, and the use of common places for trade and recreation. Of more importance in the neighborhood than in the community, especially if no common institutions exist, are informal social activities such as home visiting, the exchange of work, and mutual borrowing and lending of equipment and supplies.

(2) Communities. -- These are the larger natural groupings. Ordinarily, the people of several neighborhoods associate together to form a community. Hence, on a map the community usually appears as a cluster of neighborhoods. Residents of the community probably use common churches, high schools, and other institutional facilities, especially if they are lacking in their own neighborhood. Usually, though not always, a village trade center serves as a common community meeting place. Here people from the various neighborhoods of the community meet each other and visit, though the main purpose which brings them to the community center may be such things as the purchasing of supplies, paying taxes, or attending a movie. The basic assumption is that within the communities the adults will probably know of each other, at least to the extent of a speaking acquaintanceship. Hence, when land-use planning representatives from each neighborhood come together in a community meeting it is probable that they can work together much more effectively than would be the case if they were requested to meet outside their own community.

WHY NEMAHA COUNTY WAS SELECTED

This study of community organization was undertaken as an integral part of a larger social study requested by the County Land-use Planning Committee of Nemaha County.

Nemaha County is characterized by a variety of cultural, nationality, religious and socio-economic groups. The recognition of these natural groupings had already been found necessary and important in the county planning program. In addition, the county is fairly representative of the northeastern portion of the State of Kansas.

Finally, the study was undertaken in Nemaha County as a means of applying and testing simple procedures which might be followed by agricultural workers or by farm people themselves in mapping neighborhoods and communities in other counties in the State.

HOW THE COMMUNITIES IN NEMAHA COUNTY WERE OUTLINED

The first step in outlining the communities of Nemaha County was to secure a base map of the county (scale: 1 inch = 1 mile) from the State Highway Planning Board. This map showed sections, villages and towns, townships, roads, open-country schools, churches, houses, many landmarks, and groups of buildings at crossroads.

The survey party first interviewed a number of well-informed persons in order to become somewhat familiar with conditions in the county. The county agent, the first man called upon, indicated on the map in a general way what he considered to be the communities and community centers in the county. In addition, the neighborhoods in which 4-H Club and women's club activities are conducted were listed. Finally, he was asked to "spot" the present meeting places of the community land-use planning committees.

During the discussion, the county agent explained somewhat in detail his own experience in community organization. It was obvious that he was well aware of the existence of distinctive community groups within the county. He pointed out the general location of an Amish group, for example, and stated that while these people are averse to participation in certain phases of the agricultural program, they nevertheless take great interest in the cooperative movement and livestock show in Sabetha. Even though planning committees are at present organized on a township basis, the county agent reported that it was sometimes necessary to hold meetings in different places within one township because of the divergent interests among the people living there. The fact that he could not get some farmers from the surrounding area to come to meetings in the county seat was also mentioned.

Additional information was solicited from a minister, a county employee, the city librarian, a county commissioner, two Catholic priests, and the county superintendent of schools. All agreed that Nemaha County was composed of many different communities and each attempted to indicate them in a general way by referring to the county base map.

By such interviews the survey party secured sufficient general data on Nemaha County so that the mapping work could be more intelligently undertaken. Experience in Nemaha as well as other counties

has indicated that, besides the base map, the following data are useful before actual field work is started. 1/

(1) Rough outlines of natural communities and a list of community centers indicated by the county agent or some other qualified person after the concept of natural social groupings has been explained.

(2) As complete a list of neighborhood names as can be secured. If the approximate location of these suspected neighborhoods are spotted on the map, they furnish another guide in the delineation process.

(3) A list of present meeting places of land-use planning committees and other agricultural groups.

(4) The location of 4-H Clubs and farm men's and women's organizations such as the Grange, Farm Bureau, Homemakers' Club, etc.

(5) The location of consolidated high schools.

(6) Names of persons who are long-time residents of the local areas (No. 2 above) and who are well informed concerning the social behavior of their neighbors. Such persons should then be relied upon as the chief informants during the subsequent field work.

(7) A statement of organizational problems experienced by the county agent and other agricultural workers in getting support for their programs. In connection with this, a statement regarding the present basis of land-use planning committee organization should be obtained.

(8) Facts descriptive of cultural differences and similarities of the generally recognized social groups.

After such background data pertaining to Nemaha County was secured, the more exact mapping of the neighborhoods and communities was undertaken. A country storekeeper located at the crossroads in the outer part of one of the communities roughly mapped by the county agent was interviewed first. The interview proceeded somewhat as follows:

1/ These data, representing the informant's general impressions, should be regarded as tentative only. Additional facts, gathered as the field work proceeds, will tend to verify or modify them. A critical viewpoint should be maintained toward all preliminary data secured.

Interviewer: (After the usual introduction and explanatory sentence)

> "Mr. Jones, we are trying to draw a line around the neighborhoods and communities in Nemaha County. We want to find which people have a feeling of belonging to your neighborhood and act more or less together in many ways, such as church and school affairs, harvest festivals, visiting, picnics, etc. We have been told that you can help us because you have lived here a long time and know the people well."

Mr. Jones:

> "Do you mean the people who trade in my store?"

Interviewer:

> "Well, that is important, but we want to know, too, the area in which the people have a variety of common interests, not just one. We want to draw a line around the families who consider themselves part of this neighborhood."

Mr. Jones:

> "Oh, well, that's different." ---

The informant then proceeded to identify the various families that he considered as belonging in the neighborhood by referring to the houses on the road map. In the effort to determine outer boundaries the informant was asked: (Pointing out a dwelling on a road leading from the store)

> "If this family were visiting in the community center and someone asked what neighborhood they were from, what would its members say?"

If the answer was the name of the neighborhood being identified then it was assumed that the boundary extended at least as far as the family in question. The question was repeated regarding other families living beyond this one and finally one was "spotted" which was regarded as living in another neighborhood. Each road in the general area of Mr. Jones residence received similar treatment. The name of the last family considered as belonging to the neighborhood was written on the map next to the symbol representing their house. Thus, boundary lines were drawn. Mr. Jones was uncertain about families on one road, and only a tentative line was drawn there.

Additional information about the neighborhood was secured, such as whether harvest festivals were held, what clubs or civic organizations met, what school activities served to draw people together, what recreational activities were indulged in, what cultural, nationality, religious and economic ties the neighborhood had, where farmers attended farm meetings, and with what other neighborhoods and to what community center people felt most closely attached. The next step was to visit farmers living on the road about which Mr. Jones could not supply a definite answer, in order to verify or adjust the tentative line. The type of interview was about the same as that with Mr. Jones, although in less detail.

The map of houses and roads served as an interesting topic of conversation and helped to orient the informants in their discussion. In all cases an attempt was made to hold the informant to the actual job of pointing out specific houses or families, on the map if possible, so that the maximum detail could be attained.

The interviewer then moved to another neighborhood contiguous to the first and repeated the procedure. A particularly valuable technique was found to be that of "playing" the tentative boundary of one neighborhood against that of another. Informants were asked whether they agreed that a line was properly drawn. Corrections were made when justified.

The general process described above was repeated until the entire county had been covered. Overlapping neighborhood lines, or areas only tentatively circumscribed by lines, were refined by interviewing the farmers in those areas and having them tell the interviewer to which neighborhood they felt they belonged.

It was found that, to a very large extent, the neighborhood groupings in Nemaha County tended to follow school district lines. This is suggestive of the continued importance of the small rural school in this section of the country. It does not mean that the neighborhood is actually the product of the rural school but that the latter has served as a convenient nucleus around which various social activities of a local nature have tended to center. 1/

Determination of community boundaries was accomplished by the similar simple process of interviewing persons who were familiar with the larger area. These included farm men and women, school teachers, bankers, ministers, newspaper men; in fact, anyone who was well acquainted with the people of the area. For example, in delineating the community area around Baileyville, the village was visited and

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1/ See p. 26 for further discussion of this point.

several persons such as those suggested were interviewed. The owner of the general store was inclined to outline the area from which he drew his trade, the banker the banking area, and the minister his parish. However, since the natural community is not defined by any single specialized interest, care was taken to emphasize to the Baileyville informants that what was wanted was a composite picture representing an area in which the people had a variety of common interests and toward which they had a feeling of belongong as distinguished from their feeling for some other area, such as St. Benedict or Seneca.

All these interests taken together go to make up the feeling of loyalty or "belonging" which causes the people possessing it to act more or less cooperatively in the chief concerns of their common life. No one criterion is sufficient in itself. It is human association displayed in a number of common interests that establishes the community as a functioning reality.

In St. Benedict the same procedure was reviewed. The chief informants here were the hardware dealer and the grocer. In Seneca they were the editor of the local paper and the banker. At this point the sketch of the three communities mentioned above resembled figure 1.

It will be observed from figure 1 that the area indicated by the single-hatching was claimed by both Baileyville and St. Benedict; the area indicated by the double-hatching was claimed by both Baileyville and Seneca; while the dotted area between St. Benedict and Seneca seemed at first to belong to neither. It was found later that part of this latter area belonged to a fourth community not yet outlined. The refined map for the three communities resembled figure 2.

It must be remembered, however, that the neighborhood and community boundaries of Nemaha County are subject to change in accordance with changes in human behavior. For example, a new road might cause the people of one neighborhood to use a center in an opposite direction from the one presently used. Similarly, a new church or school may break down neighborhood boundaries. Thus, there is the possibility of a shift of loyalty and interest on the part of the people in any particular local area. Such changes should be recognized when they occur and corresponding revisions made in the map.

Descriptive notes on each community identified in Nemaha County were compiled at the end of each day. Such material helped to give "individuality" and meaning to the communities and neighborhoods of the county. A sample schedule of the general outline of information which was used to guide the interviewers will be found in the Appendix to this report.

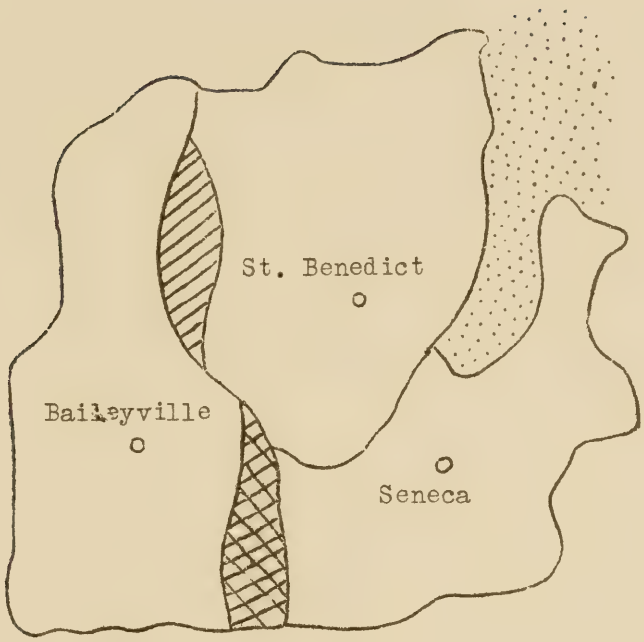

Figure 1

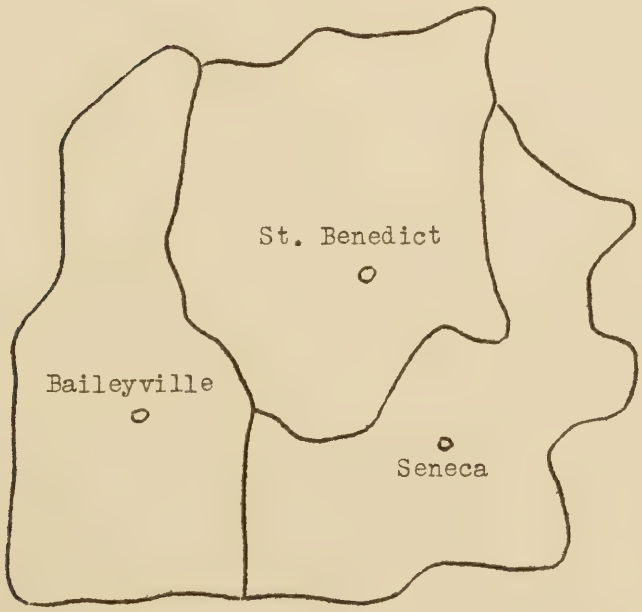

Figure 2

A partial list of leading questions which were found useful in the process of interviewing is included below. In discussing individual families with a third party such questions as the following were asked:

1. To what center does this family most often go?
2. Is this family "considered" to be in this community?
3. Where does this family feel most "at home"?
4. Where do the children go to school?
5. Where does the family go to church?
6. Where does the family trade?
7. Does the family visit frequently with other families in this district?
8. Where do the family members attend social affairs and seem to enjoy themselves most?

Farmers and housewives were asked such direct questions as:

1. What community is this? or, What community do you live in?
2. Where do you trade?
3. What is your community center?
4. Where do you go to church?
5. Where do the children attend grade or high school?
6. What community do you have a "feeling of belonging" to?
7. How large an area is included in your community?
8. What affairs do you conduct together in the community?
9. What distinguishes your community from others in the county?
10. If I were to meet you in some far town in this county and asked you where you were from, what would you say?
11. If two or three similar meetings of equal attraction were to be held the same night at different neighboring centers, to which center would you go?

After the mapping process is finished it is desirable that a final check be made of the community and neighborhood lines as drawn on the completed map. Preferably this should be done through discussion before a selected group of persons familiar with the county, such as the county and home demonstration agents, various county officials, and farmer members of the county planning committee.

EARLY HISTORY OF NEMAHA COUNTY'S CULTURAL GROUPS

The earliest recorded settlement in Nemaha County was in 1854. In that year a Baptist minister by the name of Newton settled in approximately the center of the county in what is now Richmond township. In very short order the townships of Capioma, Valley, Granada, Rock Creek, Nemaha, Clear Creek and Red Vermillion were settled.

An old resident reports that the Swiss people came into Neuchatel township in 1857. As far as is known, these people were Huguenots from France who migrated to Switzerland, and from there a colony came to the United States. "Neuchatel" is a Swiss name, taken from the name of a town and a lake in that country. These settlers developed the country around the community center now known as Neuchatel. Early in the history of Nemaha County and until about 1870, Neuchatel was quite an important trade center, but at the present time a church, a township hall, and a school are all that remain of the earlier village. This decline in the importance of Neuchatel was due to the coming of the railroads through Goff, Corning, Onaga and Centralia. The Swiss group has been thoroughly assimilated over the years and one of its oldest living members very emphatically stated that he was neither Swiss nor French, but a "Jayhawker".

The area around Centralia was settled by English people. One of the early settlers was N. B. McKay, who led a colony into Home township. McKay became a merchant at America City and later founded Corning. Corning developed as an offshoot from America City when the railroad went through. The story is told that the enterprising settlers of that day sowed oats in the road to Richmond so that incoming settlers would think it unused and would take the road to Corning.

Illinois township was named for a colony of people who came from the State of Illinois. They were principally of English extraction and established quite a large settlement by preempting on a considerable acreage of land. It is said that in order to confine their livestock and also as a means of protection, they started to dig a trench around the colony; it is reported that evidence of this trench still remains. The town of Goff was also the center of an English settlement in the early history of the county. These settlers had more capital with which to operate than had some of the early Germans who settled farther north in the county. This allowed the English to establish larger livestock enterprises, for which there was an abundant supply of good grassland in the southern part of the county.

Albany, just north of Sabetha in the eastern part of the county, was one of the first settlements made by New Englanders. They established the first church in Nemaha County in 1857 -- a Congregational Church. However, the first church building was built by the Catholics in 1859 at Wild Cat, which is now near the present site of St. Benedict. The first piano was brought to Albany by Eli Whittenhall in 1857. It is said that the Indians would gather around the Whittenhall cabin in the evening to listen to the curious sounds which emanated from the unfamiliar object.

In early times, business in Seneca, the county seat, was predominately controlled by the English. Many of these early businessmen employed sons of farmers, a number of whom later took over the businesses. Usually the farm boy came from a German family, and so the trend has been toward more Germans and relatively fewer English in the town's business life. This trend was augmented by the fact that frugal German families were able to accumulate sufficient capital and buy out business houses in the city.

The first school was held in Granada township very early in the settlement of the county. The first census taken in 1855 enumerated 99 residents in Nemaha County. In 1866 there was a grasshopper plague which caused great damage. In 1874 a definite attempt was made to organize relief to alleviate suffering and famine caused by a drought in that year. Settlement in the county was usually made first by the men, who later brought in their wives and families.

The German Settlement

Some of the earliest settlers were of German descent, settling around St. Benedict on Wild Cat Creek. Their European origin was a small area around Oldenburg in north Prussia, where there were industries and small farms. Most of these people were of the poorer class and were very small operators, probably working part time in the industries in Oldenburg. From very modest beginnings in the New World these people established sizeable livestock farms. Many farmers were encouraged to come to Nemaha County from Germany by the glowing stories told in correspondence from German settlers already here. With their relatively large families and close ties to the land, the German settlement has tended to expand and overflow into other areas of the county.

The Irish Settlement

Early in the period of settlement, the Irish came into the northwest section of the county. This area may have appealed to them because of its topography. There was plenty of wood and fuel and an abundant water supply. At any rate, these people settled on more rolling and timbered, and somewhat less fertile, land than that occupied by the early German settlers. Many of them migrated later to areas farther west, such as Montana, so that at present the area which they occupy in the county is much smaller than the original settlement. Another area was settled by Irish people at Coal Creek in the southern part of the county.

The Amish Settlement

The Amish settlement in the northeastern part of the county cuts across three communities -- Bern, Sabetha and Oneida. Until recently the Amish constituted a very compact group but there are now some signs of change. Some intermarriage is beginning to take place between Amish and non-Amish young people. Members of the group, in searching for more land to farm, have tended to move farther and farther away from the original settlement and hence are becoming more interspersed with the other communities. This is resulting in some loss of the feeling of identification with the older group. This tendency is exemplified by greater willingness on the part of those who have moved away to join in organizations which are frowned upon by their elders. Even within the older Amish settlement, if the father is reluctant to sign up with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the eldest son is sometimes willing to do so. Further evidence that the Amish may not constitute as compact a group as is frequently assumed is indicated by the fact that a break within the Church has resulted in the establishment of a second Amish Church recently built in Sabetha.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITIES OF NEMAHA COUNTY

1. Baileyville Community

Baileyville community is located in northeastern Nemaha County, approximately 5 miles from Seneca, the county seat. It derives its name from the community center, which is located at the approximate center of the area. The unincorporated town of Baileyville was founded in 1880. It is a shipping point for the St. Joseph and Grand Island Railroad. There are approximately 144 open-country homes in the community.

Although the early settlers in the southern part of the community were Methodists, they have gradually been displaced by an infiltration of German-Catholics from the north (especially since 1910). This has resulted in a homogeneous religious and nationality group.

The thrift of the German farmers is illustrated by their well-kept farm lands, large numbers of livestock and poultry, and large barns and farm houses, which may be seen in driving through the community.

The community center, with a population of less than 200, has a bank, general merchandise stores, a hardware store, filling stations, a cafe (with beer parlor), a pool hall, a township hall, a garage, and an elevator. Because of its proximity to Seneca and the existence of an oiled highway between the towns, most of the local trade is transacted during the first five weekdays and on Sunday, while many of the people travel to the larger city on Saturday to do their trading.

Much of the community life centers around the Catholic Church and schools located in Baileyville. In recent years a 4-year high school has been organized. The parochial high and grade schools are also public schools and the attendance area includes rural school districts which are organized into "cooperative areas" for school purposes.

Kinship ties are strong in the area, because the average family is large and because the young people have tended to stay on the land. They are usually set up in farming by the father. There has been very little tendency for the young people to migrate to the cities and the original German settlement has expanded in concentric circles.

The community is bound together by a good "rock" road bisecting it from north to south and by U. S. highway 36 east to west.

The people of the community come to Baileyville for voting, for signing with the Agricultural Conservation Program, and for varied social affairs. The center of Marion township government is also located here and the community meetings for land-use planning have been held in the township hall. There is also a 4-H Club organization.

Most of the people interviewed mentioned the fact that Seneca was their trading center for many commodities, such as lumber, wearing apparel, variety goods, auto accessories, furniture, hardware, and other necessities.

2. Bancroft Community

Bancroft community is located in southeastern Nemaha County, and includes approximately 75 farm families. It is situated between the larger communities of Wetmore and Goff. This engenders competition for trade and school children.

The area around the hamlet of Bancroft, which is the community center, was settled by English who were interested in cattle. This part of the county offered inducement for persons with sufficient capital to set up livestock enterprises. The little center has a filling station, a grocery store, and a barber shop. The greatest loyalties in the community are probably felt toward the district grade school and the rural high school located in the village. The high school has a basketball team which creates a lively sense of community interest and loyalty. Some social functions of a limited kind are held at the school. The school operates a bus for a few miles in the neighborhood territory. There is a small church which holds meetings infrequently.

The people of the community are divided between Goff and Wetmore in their larger loyalty. At the present time Bancroft is somewhat isolated because of poor roads, but this is gradually being remedied, and as time goes on it is probable that the people will be drawn increasingly toward these two larger centers. While the present trend indicates that eventually the Bancroft community will be absorbed into the Goff and Wetmore communities, it is at the present time a community and should be treated as such in county planning.

3. Bern Community

Bern is the center of an extensive trade area. The community is located in the northern part of the county and the farmers frequently go to the larger centers of Seneca or Sabetha to trade. There are about 120 open-country families living in the community.

The village of Bern has the following business organizations: A barber shop, cafes, a drug store, elevators and feed stores, filling stations, a garage, grocery stores, a hardware store, a lumber yard, produce stations, a shoe shop, a pool hall, and a greenhouse. There is also a bank, which draws customers from far beyond the community boundaries. The village is the voting place and center of township government.

Much dairying is carried on in the area, especially in the Amish settlement in the southeastern part. The Amish Church, around which much of Amish social life is centered, is located outside the boundary of the community. It is an interesting sight to see the large gathering of people on Sunday at the neighborhood corner where the white church is situated. No other activity is able to detract from the giving over of this day to worship and good neighborliness. Just across the road is the rural one-room school, a part of the public school system but attended exclusively by Amish children and taught by a teacher from the same group.

The area is well served by good rock roads, and the Rock Island Railroad operates a branch through Bern. Recently a rural high school was started at Bern and a good grade school is also located there. The community takes great pride in its high school basketball team and supports it well. A well-equipped playground is connected with the school system.

Kinship ties are strong, especially in the Amish group, and in the recent past most of the young people have stayed on the farm. However, there is some indication that many young people are now going away to college and ultimately leaving the community.

4. Centralia Community

Centralia community, in west-central Nemaha County, includes approximately 225 open-country families. The town of Centralia is the center, and the community area extends for about 5 or 6 miles in all directions.

The town contains beauty shops, barber shops, cafes, clothing stores, a drug store, elevators or feed stores, filling stations, a garage, grocery stores, hardware stores, a hotel, lumber yards, a plumbing and heating store, produce stations, a shoe shop, a theater, a pool hall, and an undertaking establishment.

Although the high school is not primarily a rural high school, it draws pupils from most of southwestern Nemaha County. The kinship tie in this area is marked. In many cases the older farmers have retired to Centralia and their sons and daughters have taken over the farms. The grandchildren then come to high school in Centralia, sometimes staying with the "old folks". The district has arranged to pay transportation for outlying students but often this money is used instead to pay for board and room in the town. The predominant churches are Protestant, there being very few Catholic families in the community at present.

District basketball tournaments are held in the new gymnasium and draw support from a considerable territory. The business men use various devices to attract trade on Saturday, such as free shows or drawings.

Good roads converge at Centralia and state highway 9, which is hard-surfaced, traverses the area. Centralia is also a loading point on the Missouri Pacific Railroad.

5. Coal Creek Community

This small community of approximately 50 families is located in southwestern Nemaha County. It centers around a Catholic Church and a rural school. The area along Coal Creek, which gives the community its name, was settled by Irish people and until lately supported a Catholic priest and parish house. Recently, however, the Church has lost its local priest and has become a mission of the Corning parish under Fr. Hubbard.

The community has lost most of its social life as a result of the large outward migration that has taken place. There is evident regret on the part of the present settlers at the passing of the little center, but the assimilation of the Irish into other communities, by intermarriage and better roads, is progressing rapidly. There is a tendency for the younger Irish to leave the farm and this speeds up the disintegrating process. The older people still feel a tie to the little church and school even though there is no trading center at Coal Creek. For purposes of trade the people of the community go either to Centralia on the north or to Onaga to the south.

The rough and hilly terrain brings about a degree of isolation and probably contributes to community solidarity.

6. Corning Community

Approximately 165 open-country families are included in the community which centers in the village of Corning. The village has a barber shop, a blacksmith shop, cafes, a drug store, an elevator, filling stations, garages, grocery stores, hardware stores, a lumber yard, produce stations, a shoe shop, a theater, a pool hall, and an undertaking establishment.

Early in its history Corning community was settled by English, but in recent years there has been an infiltration of Catholic-Germans from the north. The Catholic Church at Corning was built about 10 years ago and is an important center of social activity.

The trade area of Corning, the community center, is much larger than the community area. It extends south almost to the county line but many of the people along the county line go to Soldier and Havensville to the south. Corning is located approximately 5 miles west of Goff, and the trade territory between these towns breaks about halfway.

The line between the Catholic parish at Kelly and the Corning parish is quite definitely drawn and there is relatively little cooperative social activity which crosses this line.

There are large numbers of Protestant families in Corning community and they have a church there.

There is a rural high school located at Corning and, although no busses are operated, it attracts students from all parts of the community. There are nine rural one-room schools in the community and a town school at Corning. A rural route system centers at the town, and state highway 9 passes east to west across the north portion of the community. A good rock road extends from Corning south and the community center is also a shipping point on the Missouri Pacific.

7. Goff Community

Goff community takes its name from the town of Goff, which is located in southeastern Nemaha County. Included within its boundaries are approximately 100 open-country families. The community

center is on the Missouri Pacific Railroad and state highway 9. There are two rock roads south and one north out of Goff.

This community retains a good deal of the original English influence, as evidenced by its predominant Protestantism and a relative absence of people of German extraction. However, the people interviewed at Goff pointed out that the movement of Germans is definitely in their direction.

The people of this area are active in club and lodge work and there a 4-H Club and a women's farm organization in the area. Agricultural meetings of all kinds are held at Goff.

A rural high school is located at Goff and attracts many students from outside the community.

The community center has the following business organizations: A barber shop, a blacksmith shop, cafes, a drug store, an elevator, filling stations, a garage, grocery stores, a hardware store, a chick hatchery, hotels, a cold-storage plant, a lumber yard, produce stations, a shoe shop, and a pool hall.

The community is more or less self-contained, although there are some ties with both Corning and Wetmore.

8. Kelly Community

Kelly community occupies the approximate center of the county. The village of Kelly, which is the community center, was formerly a shipping point on the now defunct Kansas City & Northwestern Railroad. The first settlers were Irish and English. The land was not taken up for farming until rather late because of the hilly slopes and infertile soil.

Since about 1900 there has been an influx into the community of young farmers from the two German settlements to the north. Older farmers in Seneca and St. Benedict bought farms in this area for their sons when land became scarce in their own communities. There were also some late arrivals from Oldenburg who came to the Kelly area. By frugality and careful farming they have been able to make a living.

At the present time the community, which includes about 202 open-country families, is almost completely Catholic, including the business organizations located at Kelly. Community life centers largely around the imposing Catholic Church, which was established

originally as a part of the "mother church" at St. Benedict.

Grade and high schools are maintained at Kelly. At one time it was a thriving trade center but as the towns of Seneca and Centralia became more important and as good roads were developed in the area trade has tended to go to the larger towns. Within the past year the bank has ceased to operate and its business has been taken over by the bank at Centralia. It can be said, therefore, that at present the trade area of Kelly is negligible.

The people, however, are very definitely tied to the Kelly community. The church there has the usual number of functions, in which practically all of the people are active, and it is significant that many of the county meetings, such as farm bureau and county agricultural meetings, are held in the school building at Kelly. Fr. Paul, who is stationed in the Kelly parish, made an observation to the effect that while Kelly is an Irish name, the name of the parish is English (St. Bede), the people of the region are German, and he himself is Russian.

Fr. Paul also stated that the people have very definite ties to the land and that in most cases the young people growing up in these families are encouraged to embrace farming as an occupation. This means that these people must spread to a larger area, and that is what is taking place. Fr.Paul stated that three of the families in the parish had purchased farms in areas farther south in the county and that some member of each of the families would occupy these farms in the future. It was also an observation of the same informant that many of the people had moved to another area in the county on a tenant basis, with the expectation of being able to purchase a farm in the community sometime in the future.

Lines between the Kelly parish and the Corning parish are quite definitely drawn and these lines are also the community lines. This is not the case as regards Kelly and Seneca. The overlapping here is especially true with reference to church attendance; some of the people from around Kelly go to Seneca to church and for related activities, and a few of the farmers from near Seneca come to Kelly for church and other functions. But the community life is not noticeably affected by this interchange.

9. Neuchatel Community

Approximately 50 families reside in Neuchatel community, which is located in southwestern Nemaha County. This community is situated on Neuchatel Creek and has a center almost on the county line. Most

of the farmers, however, reside in Nemaha County. At the present time, although the community has somewhat disintegrated, there is a school, a community hall, and a church.

The church at Neuchatel does not hold regular Sunday meetings, but at infrequent intervals a preacher may come and conduct services. In fact, an informant said that whenever anyone felt like preaching he could come down and take charge. The church is of Universalist denomination. The community hall is used frequently for social gatherings, weddings, anniversary celebrations, and, in many cases, is rented by families for reunions.

Most of the people trade in either Onaga or Centralia, the greater number tending to go to Onaga. The topography of the area is rough and hilly and tends somewhat to isolate the community. There are few good roads.

The original settlement in Neuchatel was made in 1857 by people of Swiss-French nationality and the present population numbers many of the descendants of these early settlers.

10. Oneida Community

The town of Oneida is the center of a community of approximately 155 open-country families. The business organizations consist of a barger shop, filling stations, a garage, a grocery store, a hardware store, a lumber yard, and a pool hall. A good rock road runs to the north and to the south and U. S. highway 36 runs east and west. The town is also a shipping point on the St. Joseph & Grand Island Railroad.

The community is located between the cities of Seneca and Sabetha and consequently these towns cut into the trade area of Oneida. There are a Methodist Church and a Christian Church at Oneida. These reflect the predominantly Protestant characteristics of the people. Only the Methodist Church has regular Sunday services in the morning but the Christian Church has a morning and evening service once a month. There are no doctors in Oneida and the people go either to Seneca or Sabetha for medical services.

The high school basketball games are a source of interest, and the community turns out almost en masse to witness them. Decoration Day, Christmas, and New Year's Day are community affairs. The business men of Oneida seek to attract trade by offering a free show each week during the summer months. The show draws patrons from well out in the countryside.

Part of the Amish people are included in the north portion of the area.

A rural high school is located at Oneida but no busses are operated. The high school district just recently voted down the payment of transportation for high school children. The town serves as the township meeting place. Agricultural meetings are also held here.

11. Sabetha Community

Sabetha is the center of a relatively large trade area which extends into the adjacent county. Some farmers stated that it was a poor policy to attempt to hold agricultural meetings in Sabetha because many persons would go, ostensibly to attend the meetings, but would never reach them because of various other attractions to be found in the town.

There are approximately 415 farm families in the community and good roads run out of Sabetha in almost all directions. U. S. highway 36 passes through the community east to west and state highway 75 runs north from Sabetha. The city is a shipping point for both the Rock Island Railroad and the St. Joseph & Grand Island Railroad. It offers practically all business and professional services and has a fine hospital. There are adequate recreational facilities located here.

The early settlers in the community were New Englanders. They were people of exceptional educational and cultural attainments who set up schools and churches. The Protestant religion predominates, most of the people belonging to the Universalist denomination. However, the Amish people are served by an Amish Church located in the northwestern part of the community. There is also an Amish Church in Sabetha which is attended primarily by the younger Amish people.

There is an excellent city high and grade school at Sabetha and busses run into the surrounding rural districts. There are a number of lodges and social organizations. Business men are active in promoting trade with the rural families and have been fairly successful with a livestock show, in sponsoring 4-H Club work, and in offering free attractions of various kinds. There are two women's organizations in the community, one in the Rock Hill neighborhood and one in Sabetha. At the present time agricultural meetings are held at Berwick in the north, at Summit in the center, and at Woodlawn in the south.

12. Seneca Community

Seneca community centers around the county seat and although the trade area is rather extensive the community interest is relatively small. Approximately 175 rural families identify themselves as intimately associated in the main concerns of life at Seneca. This seems a very small number, in view of the size of the town and its importance as the seat of county government. It is explainable to some extent by the fact that the dominant community ties in this part of the county are religion and nationality. People in the surrounding area have close ties to the parish churches at St. Benedict, Kelly and Baileyville.

Seneca has a good library, a wide variety of services, and a community hall where father-and-son banquets and other community endeavors are held. The auditorium of the Catholic parish is used for dances and entertainments, which attract people throughout the surrounding communities. District basketball tournaments are held in the Junior High gymnasium and evoke widespread support.

Although there are four church buildings in the city besides the large Catholic Church, only two of the protestant churches -- the Methodist and the Congregational -- hold regular Sunday services. There are both Masonic and Knights of Columbus lodges and auxiliaries. Christmas is the occasion for decorating the town and business men try to engender good will by giving free candy and other treats.

There are both public and parochial high and grade schools located at Seneca and they are approximately equal in enrollment. There are fine playground facilities at the junior high school. The district operates busses which bring children from a wide area, especially from the northwestern part of the county.

13. St. Benedict Community

St. Benedict, just 3 miles northwest of the county seat, is the center of a large group of German-Catholic farmers. Business organizations include two filling stations, two grocery stores, and a hardware store. The "mother church", St. Mary's, as well as a large rectory and a sisters' home, are located here. The present church edifice was dedicated in 1894 and is one of the most imposing structures of its kind in Kansas. The spire is about 160 feet high and overlooks Wild Cat Creek, which creates a beautiful natural setting for a community center. The parishioners take great pride in their church. The interior has been carefully and beautifully decorated with imported glass windows and paintings. The latest

addition to the church equipment was the gift by one of the parish families of a tabernacle of engraved gold, estimated to have cost $1,000.

A good brick building adjoining the church houses a high school and elementary school. Just recently the surrounding rural school districts have formed a "cooperative area" and are now sending their children to school at St. Benedict. The district does not finance transportation but families have banded together and are financing busses to bring children from outlying districts into St. Benedict. This school, which is the natural center for a large number of families with many young children, is destined to become much larger than it is today. Increased attendance in high school is partly due to the increased interest of the church in secondary education.

During the summer months many Sunday afternoons are given over to baseball games on the St. Benedict diamond, which attract families from a wide area. The usual church and school activities are held at the center. Kinship ties are strong and there is much family visiting.

Wedding dances are now held in Seneca because the hall at St. Benedict burned down a few years ago. The young people tend to stay in the community or seek farming opportunities in the adjacent parishes when farms are available.

There are approximately 170 open-country families in the community.

14. Wetmore Community

Wetmore community is located in southeastern Nemaha County and contains approximately 200 open-country farm families. The town is a center of trade and entertainment. It has churches, an elementary school, a rural high school, a recreation hall, professional services, and business houses of various kinds.

The business men's association is very active and encourages the farmers in the community to trade at Wetmore by 5-cent shows, old-time dances, and promotional schemes of various sorts. Trade has been increased and with the improvement of farm-to-town roads there is reason to believe that the trade area will be enlarged. Each Saturday night the streets are lined with hundreds of cars, and the druggist interviewed said that his best business was between 7:00 P.M. and 12:30 P.M. on Saturday nights. Sunday is also a good business day. The business men are very conscious of their dependence upon the farmers and are striving to improve farm and town relationships.

The route of the rural school bus running out of Wetmore has recently been extended farther north, thus competing with the Sabetha and Fairview (Brown County) busses. Basketball tournaments are very well attended. There are four churches in the town with a total average attendance of about 100 each Sunday.

A number of families from Bancroft community and many living in little neighborhoods 5 or 6 miles distant come into Wetmore to trade.

COMMUNITIES WITH CENTERS IN ADJOINING COUNTIES

In addition to the 14 communities just described, which are either wholly within Nemaha County or which have their centers in the county, there are 7 segments of communities which have their centers in adjacent counties. These are described very briefly below.

A. A segment of Du Bois community extends into Nemaha County on the north. The community center is Du Bois, Nebraska. This town is also the trade center for this portion of the county, its popularity being enhanced by the fact that Nebraska has no sales tax.

B. A segment of Havensville community is located in the southwestern part of the county. Havensville, the community center, is located in Pottawatomie County. Some people from Nemaha County are drawn there for purposes of trade and participation in high school activities.

C. A small segment of Onaga community is located in southwestern Nemaha County. The community center, Onaga, is located in Pottawatomie County and offers trade and high school services to the people of this area.

D. A segment of Pawnee community is located in northwestern Nemaha County. A number of Nemaha families go to Pawnee City, Nebraska, the community center, for commodities, entertainment and high school facilities.

E. Swartz neighborhood, located in Reilly township, is a part of the larger community centering at Soldier in Jackson County. This little neighborhood follows along the rural school district lines in Nemaha County except for three families who now live outside the district but who were at one time inside the district. The families trade in Soldier and the children attend high school there.

F. There is a segment of Axtell community in northwestern Nemaha County. Axtell, the community center, is in Marshall County to the west. A small neighborhood of Irish-Catholic families centering around St. Bridget Church are included within Axtell community.

G. A segment of Vermillion community extends into Nemaha County from Marshall County on the west. Vermillion, the community center, is the center of trade, high school, and church activities.

STRONG LOYALTIES TO THE LOCAL RURAL SCHOOL STILL EXIST

Because of the extremely decentralized school system in Nemaha County there is evidence still of a common loyalty to the local rural school. As indicated on page 7 of this report, the school district lines in most cases delimit these small neighborhood groups. For this reason neighborhoods were not designated apart from school districts on the community and neighborhood map prepared for Nemaha County. Some of the more important of the social activities within these small local units are school programs on holidays. Usually there is a picnic or neighborhood festival at the end of the school year. Commencement is always a day of celebration. A few districts have sponsored hot school lunches as a cooperative neighborhood activity. Local schools have conducted health and medical examinations, and very recently each school district has supervised an eye examination of all school children. At Christmas much effort and time are devoted to the preparation of a "community" program to which the whole district is invited. It should be pointed out, however, that there is an overlapping of neighborhoods when such activities alone are considered, some families attending more than one such program.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Conclusions

The recognition of natural areas of common interest and social participation which are here termed communities is important to the success of the county planning program. Conversely, a failure to recognize these natural working relationships by setting up "community" committees on the basis of purely political units such as townships or election districts is likely to retard the successful development of the program.

For all practical purposes, Nemaha County can be delimited into 14 communities whose centers of interest and activity are within the county and 7 additional segments of communities whose centers lie outside the county. Within each of these communities there may be several neighborhoods which follow, in general, school district lines.

Communities such as St. Benedict, Baileyville, Coal Creek and Kelly are delimited primarily on the basis of two factors: Nationality and religion. Centralia, Wetmore, Sabetha and Seneca are primarily trade areas. The rest of the communities have no particularly outstanding characteristics but are unified by a variety of interests such as religion, nationality, schools, trade, kinship, rural mail routes, voting, recreation, social organizations, roads, township organization, and government programs. (See Appendix table.)

It should be recognized that the local school district is still an important social unit in Nemaha County. Investigation showed that in most cases the school districts actually constitute rural neighborhoods. These district neighborhoods are integral parts of the larger community and it is important that they be adequately represented on community committees, just as it is desirable that the different communities be adequately represented on the county committee.

In other counties where the open-country rural schools do not so clearly define the neighborhoods, the neighborhood boundaries should be established, independently of school district lines, by a process similar to that described in earlier pages of this report.

Community boundaries, in most cases, include the whole of the component neighborhoods. The only exceptions seem to be found in rural school districts where the school is now closed and where neighborhood feeling and loyalties appear to be lacking.

Suggestions

Special treatment may be necessary in organizing those areas where the major interests of the people are in a center outside of the county. One solution of this problem might be to have the people in the segments elect farmers to represent them in the community meetings and include these representatives in one of the contiguous communities. This person would thus become a representative of a number of farmers at the neighboring community meetings, where he could present their problems and wishes and report back to them. Three townships in Nemaha County -- Reilly, Red Vermillion and Nemaha -- would seem to be particularly adapted to such an arrangement.

If there are a number of segments grouped and adjacent to each other a common meeting place might be agreed upon and elected representatives of each of the segments might meet together in a separate "community" meeting. Two townships in Nemaha County -- Clear Creek and Neuchatel -- might be handled in this way.

The cities of Seneca and Sabetha are poor centers in which to hold community meetings but greater effort and understanding on the part of the business organizations in each of these towns might foster a better working relationship between city and country people. This would contribute greatly to the success of the county planning program. It might be worthwhile to consider the appointment of a representative of town business organizations on the county and community committees.

The Nemaha County Land-use Planning Committee may find it advantageous to reexamine its county and community committee organizations in the light of the findings of this survey.

The community and neighborhood mapping is only the first step toward perfecting organization, increasing participation, and utilizing and developing local leadership. Much further work could and probably should be done along these lines. That such work may be handled effectively, the county committee may wish to consider the establishment of subcommittees on the county and community level to work on these and other social problems.

The county committees in other counties of Kansas may wish to undertake work of this nature within their own counties, either by themselves with the guidance outlined in this report or with the help of the Extension Service or the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare.

APPENDIX

Community and Neighborhood Study Outline

1. Name of community _____ neighborhood _____
2. Location in county _____

_____

3. Number of open-country houses ..... _____
4. What is the history of its settlement? (Briefly) _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5. Identification: (Check services offered)
   a. Church ..... _____
   b. Elementary school ..... _____
   c. High school ..... _____
   d. Community hall ..... _____
   e. Doctor ..... _____
   f. Hospital ..... _____
   g. Cemetery ..... _____
   h. Clubs and social organizations .... _____
   i. List business organizations _____

   _____

6. Chief ties or interests in the community or neighborhood: (Check)
   a. Religion ..... _____
   b. Nationality ..... _____
   c. Culture ..... _____
   d. Grade school ..... _____
   e. High school ..... _____
   f. Trade and business .... _____
   g. Kinship ..... _____
   h. Recreation ..... _____
   i. Social organizations _____
   j. Roads ..... _____
   k. Mail route ..... _____
   l. Voting ..... _____
   m. Township ..... _____
   n. Government programs _____
7. What do the people of the community do together? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

8. To what larger community does this neighborhood feel most closely linked? _____

   Why? _____

   _____

   _____

9. Persons interviewed in connection with this community or neighborhood

Name	Age	Position or occupation

Factors Involved in Mapping Communities of Nemaha County, Kansas

Factors	Communities with centers in Nemaha County														Communities with centers outside Nemaha County						
	1 Bailoyville	2 Bancroft	3 Bern	4 Centralia	5 Coal Creek	6 Corning	7 Goff	8 Kelly	9 Neuchatel	10 Oneida	11 Sabetha	12 Seneca	13 St. Benedict	14 Wetmore	A Du Bois	B Havensville	C Onaga	D Pawnee	E Soldier	F Axtell St. Bridget	G Vermillion
1. Feeling of belonging	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2. Business and trade	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
3. High school	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
4. Roads	x	x	x	x		x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
5. Church or religion	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x						x	x
6. Elementary school	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x							
7. Recreation			x	x		x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x
8. Social organization	x		x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x						x	x
9. Kinship	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x							x	x
10. Culture	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x							x	x
11. Nationality	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x							x	x
12. Rural route	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x		x				x			x
13. Voting	x		x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x							
14. Government programs	x		x							x	x	x		x							
15. Township	x		x											x							